OXFORD JOURNALS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Politics of Despair. by Hadley Cantril
Review by: Ernest Q. Campbell
Social Forces, Vol. 37, No. 4 (May, 1959), pp. 368-369
Published by: Oxford University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2574192
Accessed: 16/06/2014 00:53

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Oxford University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Social Forces.*

http://www.jstor.org

This content downloaded from 194.29.185.209 on Mon, 16 Jun 2014 00:53:44 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Part of this contribution is *North Carolina: An Economic and Social Profile*, patiently and thoughtfully prepared and affectionately dedicated to a great state.

WILLIAM E. COLE
University of Tennessee

A PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE CASEBOOK. By William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. 880 pp. $12.50. Illustrated.

This three-pound volume brings together a mass of material dealing with international persuasion.

Daugherty, operations analyst in the Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, and Janowitz, University of Michigan sociology professor, bring to the book their own varied experiences with psychological warfare in World War II and the Korean conflict. In addition they have accumulated from many sources articles written by 71 other experts.

The book includes chapters on the history of psychological warfare, doctrine, organization and personnel, policy goals and planning; operational goals; the role of intelligence, research, and analysis; media, methods, and techniques; and evaluation of effectiveness. There is also a chapter on Soviet psychological warfare. The authors have included a short biographical sketch of the contributors, a name index, a subject index, and fortunately, considering the extensive use of abbreviations in the text, a translation table for abbreviations. A list of additional references follows each chapter.

The scope of pyschological warfare (PsyWar), as reflected in the content of this book, is staggering. Case studies, some published for the first time, discuss activities using such media as leaflets, radio, loudspeaker tanks, and music. Many of the schemes indicate great cleverness on the part of their instigators. Other examples show, at least in retrospect, some lack of competence. It is to the authors, credit that the book includes not only the apparently successful ventures, but also the monumental goofs.

The authors devote many pages to the problem of how to determine effect, and hence success or failure, in PsyWar operations, most of which involve inaccessible audiences. No pat system emerges. There is no way to guarantee success of a mission, and no one best way to assess effect. But then, there is no perfect way to sell soap, either.

While the authors' lengthy contributions are sound, the articles, for the most part, are abridged to the point where the reader can grasp only a glimpse of the context of a given situation. The necessity for abridgment is understandable, perhaps, when the scope of the book is considered. Even though the material is limited almost exclusively to PsyWar activities in wartime, no major war in which the United States has been involved is overlooked. The emphasis is on the role of PsyWar in the kind of military operations which were carried out up to and including Korea. Recent explorations into space, with the military implications arising from Vanguards, Sputniks, and artificial planets, may mean that the bulk of the book has more historical interest than practical applicability. Nevertheless there are many areas of value to the practicing or potential propagandist. The chapter on media, methods, and techniques could be useful to anyone engaged in mass persuasion. Similarly the sections on research are valuable.

It is unfortunate, in such an important area of study, that the terms should still be so confusing. The term "psychological warfare" itself is abhorrent enough, but Roland I. Perusse discusses 18 other phrases used in one place or another as a synonym for the term. Even Harold Lasswell, pioneer student of propaganda, compounds confusion by including such acts as assassination among the media of mass communication. In an interesting understatement, Lasswell concedes his interpretation is not conventional.

If the reader is not disturbed by a lack of agreement among the contributors as to just what it is they write about, the book can provide helpful information. College students, whose awareness of recent wars is often second-hand, will need to supplement the book. In several instances the uninformed reader is left in suspense as to the eventual outcome.

Another minor complaint is the scarcity of pictorial illustrations. There are only seven, including a map and three charts. In many instances the cases would have been clearer if reproductions of the leaflets or scripts had been available.

Despite its shortcomings, the book does bring together for the first time material which has previously been scattered, if available at all. It should at least be required browsing for every student of international persuasion, propaganda, international communication, psychological warfare, political warfare, or whatever it is.

JOHN B. ADAMS
University of North Carolina

THE POLITICS OF DESPAIR. By Hadley Cantril. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958. 265 pp. $5.00.

This is a report on a study of the post-World War II voter in France and Italy whose vote for Communist Party candidates expresses a loss of faith in the present "system." Unlike the militant Communist, who has found a new faith in the Party, the protest voter has not settled on new guide lines which promise to make some of his aspirations experientially real. As modern communication opens new vistas of hope for him, he experiences a growing discrepancy between his achievements and his aspirations. Rejecting the old social and political systems, in part because of this discrepancy, he has not found the new. His is a sense of alienation and of apathy, the politics of despair.

As recently as 1953 and 1956, the Communist Party received about 25 percent of all votes cast in France and Italy. The great majority of these voters were not members of the Communist Party. In an attempt to understand the Party's appeal to nonmembers, the author and his colleagues at Princeton's Institute for International Social Research undertook a four-stage field research project: (1) interviews with "well-informed people" regarding reasons underlying the Communist vote; (2) interviews with industrial workers, focusing on the psychological factors emerging from the first stage as of prime importance; (3) experimental studies of communication contents to determine their effects on Communist voters; and (4) a study of how

This content downloaded from 194.29.185.209 on Mon, 16 Jun 2014 00:53:44 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

French and Italian industrial workers interpreted the Hungarian revolution of October and November 1956. Methodologically, the project combines individual case studies with the techniques of large-scale social surveys.

There is a rich array of illustrative data. The subjects are workers to whom radios and television sets are desired luxuries, automobiles too inaccessible even to dream about. There is a vivid description, in two chapters, of the reality world of the worker, and the faith of the Communist Party member is shown to contrast sharply with the non-Communist voter who clings to the negative assurance that "things might be worse." Yet the author is visibly impressed by the voters' resistance to Communism under trying circumstances, and he seems to see in the lingering democratic faith of workers a sure challenge and opportunity for America's foreign policy and world relations.

This book is written by a psychologist and conceived in a psychological framework. Many sociologists, however, will find its approach and viewpoint compatible with their own. The author observes that the term "faith"—a central phenomenon in the life of man—can hardly be found in the standard psychological literature. He emphasizes the significance of generalized phenomena like "reality worlds" and "value satisfactions"; we are able to comprehend human behavior, he says, only by understanding the point of view of the person having purpose, the things he hopes for, the ways things look to him. There is a lot of Weber's Verstehen—as there is much of the general point of view W. I. Thomas brought to social psychology—in this book.

Much of the presentation consists of a series of (sometimes extended) notes from interviews and occasional abbreviated case histories. The data, unfortunately, are not well assimilated. The reader must assume the degree to which they represent a larger population of voters. Often he must attach his own meanings to them. Nor are theory and data very closely synchronized; certainly there is no proper "test" of theory. As a result, this book never quite fulfills its promise. Though the author believes it to be "a more valid and inclusive systematic framework" than his earlier, now classic *Psychology of Social Movements*, it is hard for the reviewer to share this enthusiasm. There are excellent insights as there are fine illustrative data, but there is neither the rigorous formulation nor the conjoining of data with theory one might hope to find.

ERNEST Q. CAMPBELL
University of North Carolina

THE POLITICS OF INEQUALITY: SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1948. By Gwendolen M. Carter. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958. 535 pp. $7.50.

In both the South and in South Africa there is an enormous amount of talk about race and about the relationships between peoples regarded in each area as racially different. This, of course, is no new subject of conversation in either place—such talk has been going on for a long time—but perhaps neither southerners nor South Africans are entirely aware of the extreme extent to which the matter occupies their minds and hearts, as well as their conversations, until and unless they chance to take residence in some such country as Holland or Sweden where the people are supremely indifferent to the issue of race. I am impressed with this fact because this review is being written in Holland. There is no talk of race here, and the problems that now agitate the minds of southerners and South Africans seem strange and unreal and far away.

It is an interesting experience for a southerner who has spent some time in South Africa to review a book on the subject of the politics of race relations from the perspective of indifferent Holland, indifferent even though the prime race-makers of South Africa, the Afrikaners, came mainly from this country. A three-way comparison is almost inevitable. Slowly, painfully, the people of the South are having to bring state and local government into line with the facts of such integration of America's many and diverse peoples as already has been achieved in other parts of the nation. The whites of South Africa, on the other hand, are struggling to define and to achieve *apartheid*, or some greater degree of racial separation and segregation than they have had heretofore. From similar positions to start with, the peoples of these two race relations areas now appear to be moving in opposite directions.

The Afrikaner whites of South Africa are experiencing the inflation of personality characteristics of people who overcome all opposition and find themselves at the very top of the status pyramid. Largely through the instrumentality of the ideology of racism and, in recent years, the Nationalist party, the descendants of those who suffered defeat at the hands of the English in the Boer War have achieved highest rank in a veritable caste order. They are fighting to extend and to consolidate their position. The whites of the South, on the other hand, are experiencing all the frustrations and humiliations that go with status decline. In both South Africa and in the South the conscious and overt phases of status conflict are being fought out in the realm of politics. In South Africa, and to a lesser degree in the South, economics appears to be politics in action. The economic problems of the country are frankly approached from the point of view of the racial ideology of the dominant whites. In an old and relatively homogeneous country like Sweden or Holland, on the other hand, politics strikes the outsider as largely economics in action, that is, the issues of politics are primarily defined by economic problems.

Sooner or later the competitions, both biological and economic, operating within any society erupt into the stream of conscious public life and become the issues of politics. Ideologies put in their appearance as ways of justifying the programs intended to control the economic order in behalf of the status conceptions of the various groups contending in that order. One of these ideologies normally becomes dominant, e.g., communism in Russia, racism in South Africa. Racism, like other ideologies, functions to make the separate measures in the program consistent with each other and with the general status aspirations of the group. If there is no issue of group status there is no issue of politics, and there is a status issue because the statuses of the member groups of a society are never equal. All politics is the politics of inequality as the people themselves define "inequality."

This content downloaded from 194.29.185.209 on Mon, 16 Jun 2014 00:53:44 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions